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If gongs and mokos are beaten for days ahead of time, the sound will soften the hearts of debtors, and wealth will flow into the village at the forthcoming feast.

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Accompanied by the beating of gongs and mokos, a pig and some corn arrive as a dowry payment preliminary to a larger death feast payoff.

[p. 325]

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Women privately gossiping over the value of a dowry payment that has just been brought to Atimelang.

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Boys furnish a musical accompaniment on gongs and mokos to the communal labor involved in building a lineage house.

[p.32 w]

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cant, however, is that twenty-five of the thirty-six kin quarrels were between affinal kin including husbands and wives, co-wives, and more remote affinal relatives.

In all these outbursts of rage I never saw an Atimelanger lose his temper at an inanimate object. Even at animals they shout loudly and harshly but without the sense of real anger that is evidenced toward human beings. This suggests for one thing a less anthropomorphic cast of mind than among ourselves. For another it suggests no very powerful reserves of anger and no latent hostilities of such magnitude that they take any avenue of discharge, regardless of reality. Also, it may be attributable to the far greater ease and frequency of partial discharge of anger permitted by the society. These suggestions are substantiated further by the brevity of sulking periods. Sulking does occur and there is no doubt that grudges are held, but only in rare cases do they last for more than two or three days. The long periods often required to reach an agreement place a premium on being able to maintain a certain pitch of anger. At the end of a prolonged litigation anger has so far evaporated that the winner will willingly kill a chicken or a pig to eat with his opponents and the judge.

There are a number of more or less formalized outlets for anger that help to drain off the frustrations and humiliations associated with the social system. All-night dances end at dawn with the challenge dances (*dokak*) between men who dash back and forth in pairs across the dance place brandishing swords at each other.

There is also a rattan switch dance (*dengdema*) between young men, in which one partner stands as impassively as possible with one leg thrust forward while the other dancer, after many preliminary feints and flourishes with a rattan switch, hits him with as much force as possible on the shin bone. From one to five blows are given and then the partners change roles. It is significant in relation to the general gravity with which bloodshed is regarded that drawing blood is bad form and cause for offense. Anyone who draws blood by mistake usually hastens to apologize.

Such switch dances sometimes become expressions of intervillage hostility so that series of partners are often from two opposing villages. The degree to which this dance contest is really a hostile act is evident from the number of older people who tend to discourage it and from the fact that the accompanying gongs are played in the rapid, staccato fashion used in times of crisis. It would be a mistake to interpret the dance as primarily an exercise in physical fortitude, although fortitude in this case is a matter of pride. Fortitude is not a particularly

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155 role of satellites, which is a partial abandonment of goal and a partial continuation of childhood patterns.

FINANCE AND ESTHETICS

[517] It is interesting that there are only two areas in which men seem to
● 533 achieve any degree of esthetic self-expression. Both are indirectly asso-
436 ciated with finance. One is gong playing, the other is versification. It will be recalled that gongs are one of the currencies. Whole gongs (*fokung*) are not very fluid as currency since they are prized for ceremonial purposes. Broken gongs (*rai*) are used constantly as small change. Their values range from about fifty cents to several rupiahs. Gong playing begins in middle childhood and may continue through-
533 out life. More often the long, steady gong beating of death memorials (*sinewai*), of lineage house building, and so forth is turned over to boys and young men, but older men frequently experiment with new rhythms or set the pattern for an orchestra composed of mokos and gongs of different sizes.

538 The connection of versification with finance comes out more plainly than that of gong playing and finance. It is the only form of poetic expression possessed by the people. It is, in fact, practically the only attempt at literary expression of any sort. The preoccupation with finance and even its esthetic transmutations are evident from some of the verses quoted below. The dances last from eight or nine o'clock in the
[535] evening until dawn the next day. They usually precede a ceremonial event, with its inevitable financial concomitants. The participants, facing inward, their arms about each other, form a circle on the dance place. They progress sideways.

Any man may begin a verse. The form in which he expresses himself has certain stereotyped limits and a set range of elaborate metaphors, but it is not so fixed that creative leeway is forbidden. As the soloist finishes a verse, he indicates a change in tempo. Thereupon all
[535] the dancers join in one of the dozen or more set choruses characterized by syllables which are predominantly meaningless and slightly more rapid in beat. The ability to improvise is highly esteemed. Ambitious young men of seventeen or eighteen years first try to versify in this fashion. An inadequate performance is not publicly ridiculed, but there is a certain amount of snickering behind the performer's back. Those with real ability persist in their efforts and may be admired performers by the time they are in their late thirties or early forties. Abilities naturally vary. By rough estimate perhaps 10 per cent of the mature men are recognized as good singers. A few verses taken at random from